1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

233 three thousand reindeer, and the largest herd that I ever saw near the Indighirka River was estimated at something over five thousand reindeer.

It is true that the Tungus, when speaking to Russians, always underestimate the number of their reindeer, so as to appear poor, since they do not like to kill them for meat, for which the Russians come; but such is not the case with the Koryak. They are very vain and boastful in that respect, and are prone to exaggerate the size of their herds. In the Taigonos Peninsula the chieftain would frequently say to me, "I am a rich man: I am very rich in reindeer." On the contrary, Abraham, the Tungus whom I mentioned above, tried to underrate in my opinion the size of his herd, calling my attention to the fact that it did not belong to him alone, but that all of his relatives had a share in it.

[592] On the Taigonos Peninsula, where the Koryak have mastered the art of counting, I took a census of the reindeer by households (I use the word "household" and not "family," because usually brothers and other relatives keep their herds together). I do not consider the figures that follow absolutely accurate, but they will give an approximate idea of the value of the Koryak reindeer industry.

233 I enumerated sixty-three households, which gave a total of 17,000
592 reindeer. The four largest herds numbered 2,000, 2,500, 3,500, and 5,000
511 head respectively. The remaining households had from five reindeer to eight hundred reindeer each. Thirty-four households, or more than half, had from five to fifty reindeer each. The majority of owners of small herds had no households of their own, but worked as herdsmen for the wealthy reindeer-breeders. Dividing 17,000 (reindeer) by 318 (the total number of Taigonos Koryak), and multiplying the quotient by 3,748 (the total number of Reindeer Koryak), we get 200,000, the probable total of Koryak reindeer.

233 The Koryak reindeer are intended mainly for slaughter. With the
437 exception of a small number used for racing, driving, and as draught-animals
439 in their migrations, the entire herd of a wealthy Koryak serves for consumption in various ways. From his herd he gets meat for food, and skins for clothing and tents, and he exchanges the slaughtered reindeer and their skins for articles of consumption which he does not possess. From the Maritime Koryak he gets by barter walrus and seal thongs, fat, oil, and meat, iron-ware made by their smiths, embroidered funeral dress, and dried fly-agaric. From the Russians he receives in exchange tea, tobacco, bread, printed cloth, and other imported goods. With the hunters he exchanges his reindeer-meat and reindeer-skins for the furs of fur-animals, which he again exchanges with Russian merchants for imported goods.

233 The great mass of the Tungus find in the reindeer merely a means of
171 transportation. The Tungus households which own large herds are not of a uniform type throughout. In the Gishiga district the Tungus household has

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

233 433 and skins. The fawns are generally slaughtered in the fall, when they are from five to seven months old. The skins are used for clothing, and are in great demand for barter. Further slaughtering of grown reindeer in the winter by the owners for their own consumption, and for food for the Maritime Koryak and the inhabitants of Russian settlements, affects very unfavorably the growth of the herd. That is why there are so few owners of large herds among reindeer-breeders. Some herd-owners have become impoverished because the Russian officials compelled them to sell large numbers of reindeer for the Russian settlements in times of famine. The smaller a herd is, the more its growth is affected by the slaughter of the reindeer.

After all has been said, the great drawback to the growth of reindeer-herds is the frequent occurrence of epidemics, which, in a few days, may pauperize a rich reindeer-breeder. Detailed information on epidemics and diseases of reindeer has been given by Mr. Bogoras.[1]

It goes without saying, that the Yakut herds are not immune to epidemics; but in other respects the growth of the Yakut herd is much faster. Many Yakut in the Verkhoyansk district who but a comparatively short time ago purchased a few dozen reindeer from the Tungus, and engaged in their propagation, are now wealthy reindeer-breeders.

511 233 433 The Koryak reindeer-breeder has not passed as yet beyond a primitive economic stage; that is, all that he needs for living he derives from his herd. Although the herd of the Koryak may be said to constitute his capital, in so far as the labor of hired herdsmen furthers the accumulation of that capital, the only benefit which he derives from the exchange of reindeer for other things is the acquisition of articles to satisfy the current needs of the family. Under such conditions, the profit derived from a Koryak herd is insignificant. A large number of reindeer are slaughtered annually, — that is to say, part of the wealth is destroyed, — and in exchange for that, the reindeer-breeder seldom gets anything that will serve him for any length of time. We have here a case of most primitive barter.

171 436 492 [495] As opposed to the Koryak, the Yakut reindeer household is founded on a money basis. The reindeer serve here, not only as an article of barter for goods necessary in the household, but as a source of earnings. The income derived from the maintenance of post-stations and the transport of goods is very considerable, and is received in money. Wealthy Yakut herd-owners have considerable capital, and even send deposits to banks. Communication over the entire length of the Government trail from the Aldan River, south of the Verkhoyansk mountain-ridge, to Sredne Kolymsk (a distance of 1350 miles) and over all branch-trails leading from that principal trail, is kept up by the Yakut in winter with reindeer, and in summer on horseback. This

[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 80, 81.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

reindeer meet with a dog-team unawares, they are inevitably torn to pieces. The dogs pay no attention to their master's shouts and club. The only way of stopping the carnage is to knock the dogs on the head and stun or kill them. While in camp in the wilderness, the dogs which lie tied up near the sledge do not allow strangers to go near it, perhaps because they know that their food is on the sledge, for at home they do not attack or molest strangers. Noticeable changes of character took place in my dogs which I had brought up myself, partly due to the different treatment, partly owing to their new surroundings. It cost a great deal of trouble to train them to discriminate between domestic animals, which they had never seen, and game which they were permitted to hunt. They used to catch chickens, ducks, geese, sheep, calves, foals, and cats all in the same fashion, by the throat. More than once I had to pay for the harm they had done. Even after they had finally become accustomed to domestic animals, atavistic enmities persisted. Their feuds with cats had no end, and they would always attack hogs; but from the very start the latter would drive them off, and the dogs came to be afraid of them.

In imitation of our dogs, they learned to bark, but they never barked at a person. On the contrary, they lost all fear of human beings, and took kindly to everybody. On the other hand, their attachment to their master and his friends was sufficiently firm. The dogs recognized me after an absence of several weeks, and boisterously expressed their delight. The Koryak dogs, on passing into new hands, become indifferent to their former master in a few days, as soon as they become familiar with their new comrades and their feeding-trough. At first, when in unwonted places, my dogs would sometimes fall to howling, which casts a feeling of melancholy and despondency over a traveller whom fate brings into a hamlet where a chorus of a hundred dogs begins its interminable evening concerts. After a few months' sojourn in civilized surroundings, however, they gave up their habit of howling.

An idea of the number of dogs kept by the Koryak may be formed on the bases of a census taken by me in 79 households of maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay (see table on p. 522).

The average per household is 10 dogs. The figures quoted are more or less constant. Although the dogs are very prolific, the number of dog-sacrifices equals or even surpasses the increase. If in spring, as frequently happens, an epidemic of hydrophobia or another contagious disease a symptom of which is an affection of the nerve-centres, rages among the dogs, many households lose all their animals. Then the people, when moving from their winter abode to their summer dwelling, have to drag their belongings along, or assist their dogs in drawing the sledges. A travelling family of this kind is represented on Plate XXVI, Fig. 2. One dog is harnessed to each sledge, and the women draw with them, while the men carry huge bundles on their shoulders.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

592 231 511 Families that have poor or young workers, and who cannot lay by sufficient stores of dog's food for the winter, usually own few dogs. The members of such families are deprived of the chance of making trips to the Russian hamlets to buy imported wares, or to the nomad camps of the Reindeer Koryak to trade for reindeer-meat.

Number of Households.	Number of Dogs in each Household.	Total Number of Dogs.
1	2	2
4	3	12
4	4	16
4	5	20
4	6	24
7	7	49
13	8	104
5	9	45
13	10	130
3	11	33
5	12	60
2	13	26
1	15	15
1	16	16
3	17	51
1	18	18
8	20	160
Total 79		781

471 494 [326] [437] Nearly all the men who own as many as twenty dogs, — enough for two teams at the rate of ten dogs per sledge — either conduct an independent trade or are employed as clerks by the Russian merchants. Almost all through the winter the senior member of such a family is journeying from one reindeer-camp to another; while at home only a few dogs remain for work around the house, for trips to get wood, for hauling supplies of food from the summer camp, and for other exigencies. The smiths of Paren and Kuel, too, own not less than ten dogs each, which enable them to carry their iron-work among the Reindeer Koryak for barter. I found the best dogs among the Itkana people.[1] Their settlements lie off the main trail, running

[1] Around Bering Sea the best dogs are to be found on the Poqat (see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 102).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

501 The Koryak have a rectangular sail made of dressed reindeer-skins sewed
281 together. Instead of a mast, they employ a more primitive contrivance. Three long poles are tied together at one end with a thong which passes through drill-holes, and are set up in the manner of a tripod. On one side the whole length of the sail is sewed to a yard the middle of which is slung from the top of the tripod by means of a stout thong. The tripod is set up in the middle of the boat by tying both ends of two of the poles to the ribs on one side of the boat, while the third pole is fastened on the other side of the boat. The sail can revolve around the top of the tripod, and is set in the direction required by the wind by means of braces and sheets made of thong, which are fastened to the rails (Fig. 80, *f*).

The care of the skin boats is the same everywhere. On returning to shore from a trip, the boat is pulled ashore and turned bottom up to let the skin dry. After a few days, when it is dry, it is oiled anew. About the middle of October, when the hunting-season is over, the boat is taken out of the water, the skin cover is taken off, and, when completely dry, is put away for the winter in a storehouse,[1] that the dogs may not get access to it. I have been told that the people of Karaga and Kičhin, on Bering Sea, do not remove the walrus-skin cover from the frame for the winter, but turn the boat keel upwards and hang it on posts, that the dogs may not get at it.

501 The Koryak skin boat can carry fairly heavy loads. In the autumn of
505 1900 we crossed in two boats from the settlement of Paren to Kuel. As the former place is about seven miles from the mouth of the Paren River, the boats entered the river at high tide, and with the ebb-tide we sailed out into the open sea. We carried about two thousand pounds of cargo, and our party consisted of twenty-five members, — myself with four companions, and ten Koryak to each boat. In each boat there were eight oarsmen, among whom were women and lads. In addition, each boat carried eight dogs in harness, which lay in the stern. Notwithstanding this heavy load, the boats were not more than half in the water. We went on fairly fast, and covered a distance of twenty miles in three hours and a half. When we had turned the islets and the rocky shore at the mouth of the river, and had reached a low strip of coast covered with sticky clay, which had run dry with the receding tide, the skin boats approached the shore. The dogs were taken ashore and harnessed to the sides of the boats. They were driven by two lads, who ran behind them on shore. The oars were laid along the sides of the boat inside. The steersmen alone directed the boats so as to keep them within from six to nine metres from shore. Whenever a stone or a drift-log would catch the traces, the drivers would clear them.

501 511 422 Not all families possess boats, as this involves a great outlay of seal-skins, which are needed for clothing, barter, sale, and fur-tribute (yasa'k). Only

[1] See Plate XXI, Fig. 1. The skin cover is hung up near the storehouse, to be put away when dry.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

good hunters, or families to which several hunters belong, can keep boats. Every year the cover of the skin boat requires mending, and must be replaced in parts. A large boat requires from fifteen to twenty seal-skins, each of which has a market-value of from five to six rubles. The ratio of the number of families possessing a skin boat to the number of those without one is not the same everywhere. For instance, on the Itkana, out of seventeen families, eight had no boats; while in Kamenskoye out of thirty, nine had none. The hunters of families without boats go hunting with the owners of boats, and then share the game with them.[1]

Kayaks. — Small skin boats for one man are made by the Koryak of Penshina Bay. They are of the kayak type, like those of the Aleuts and of the Eskimo from Greenland to Alaska. Mr. Bogoras says that kayaks are unknown among the Chukchee on the coast of the Pacific Ocean.[2] The Koryak kayak (mă'to) differs from that of the western Eskimo in some respects. It is shorter; the round manhole is not covered, and occupies the entire width; and prow and stern are of the same shape (Fig. 83). The skeleton of the

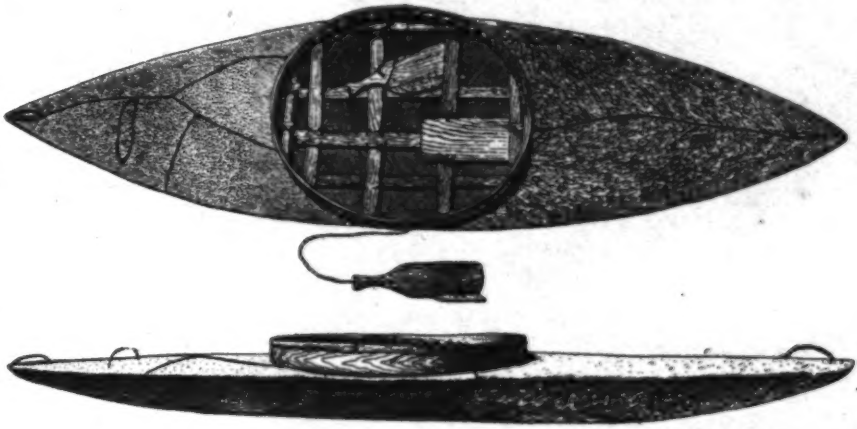

Fig 83 ($\frac{1}{15}\frac{1}{12}$). Kayak, Top and Side View. Length, 269 cm.; width, 75 cm.; height, 28 cm.; weight, 32 lbs.

kayak is made as follows: A strip of wood curved upward somewhat both fore and aft serves as the "keel." To both ends of the keel the ends of curved poles, which serve as rails, are tied with thongs. As the keel is curved in a vertical plane, with its convex side downward, while both rails are in a horizontal plane, the rails lie on a level with the keel only at their points of junction, while at all other points the rails lie higher than the keel. For

[1] See Chapter XIII.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 126.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY.1

The Maritime Koryak consider one dried dog-salmon and a half per man, with some seal-oil, sufficient for one day when fish is consumed exclusively. This is equivalent to about three or four pounds of fish.[1] A single thong-seal is sufficient for a week for a family of six or seven. With the Reindeer Koryak a single reindeer will do for three days for a family of the same size. In the village of Kamenskoye, where I collected data concerning the number of seals stored by the inhabitants for winter, I also obtained information concerning the winter supplies of sun-dried dog-salmon. For 18 families, numbering in all 100 souls, there were laid in for the winter 34,000 sun-dried dog-salmon; i. e., 340 fish per head. On the basis of the calculations made above, this would suffice for 226 days, or seven months and a half. In the preceding chapter I stated[2] that in 1901 the inhabitants of Kamenskoye had for the winter an average supply of 14.3 thong-seals per family, which would furnish food for a little over two months and a half. Thus the inhabitants of Kamenskoye had an average food-supply for ten months. The time during which fishing and sea-hunting cannot be counted on at all, or very little, is nine months; consequently that year the inhabitants of Kamenskoye had a little more than they needed. The surplus must be accounted for as food for visitors. The meat of sea-mammals, and the fish which the Maritime Koryak give to the Reindeer Koryak, must not be taken into account, as the former receive reindeer-meat in exchange for the latter.

I have said before that for a family of six or seven a single reindeer is counted sufficient for three days, ten reindeer for a month, and ninety for nine months. I do not take into consideration the three summer months, as the reindeer-breeders rarely kill full-grown reindeer for food in summer. Many Reindeer Koryak in summer live principally on fish; the meat of perished calves or of full-grown deer fallen from disease; on berries, edible roots, and herbs. If the total number of Reindeer Koryak (3748) is divided by 6, we obtain 624 families, for which about 56,000 reindeer would be required, if all the Reindeer Koryak were to live for nine months on meat of full-grown reindeer exclusively. This number is evidently somewhat above the actual number of reindeer killed. Thus, in 1899, 32,566 reindeer-skins were exported. Although over half of this number (about 18,000) were skins of calves one month old,[3] a number at least equal to that of the exported skins must have been required for the clothes and tents of the Koryak themselves, and for those given in barter to the Maritime Koryak and Russian settlers. Furthermore, a small part of the skins exported through Gishiga come from the Anadyr district; but this amount is fully compensated, if not exceeded, by the skins of Koryak reindeer that are exported through the

[1] The weight of a fresh dog-salmon, including head, bones, and viscera, is from five to fourteen Russian pounds; the average weight is eight Russian pounds, or a little over seven English pounds.

[2] See p. 549

[3] See Chapter XII, Trade.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the master to provide them with food and with skins for clothes. Able herdsmen would receive reindeer as presents from the master. In the further progress of these relations, the rich possessors of herds might have consolidated into an hereditary ruling class. This was prevented solely by the low character of the reindeer-culture. Frequent reindeer-pests, against which these primitive reindeer-breeders were and still are powerless, suddenly transformed rich herdsmen into beggars.

The life of the masters was in no way different from the life of the poor herdsmen. The latter were not considered a lower class. Good herdsmen could expect not only to marry the master's daughter, as they do up to the present time, but to receive from the master a part of his herd. In one myth[1] we are told that Big-Raven handed over to his son-in-law the larger half of his herd, the latter having proved himself a good herdsman. In another tale Big-Raven presents a part of his herd to the herdsman simply on account of his being a faithful worker.[2]

The Koryak say that in ancient times the rich and the strong men held slaves. These remained at home, and were employed for different kinds of housework, and under the supervision of the women. It is difficult to ascertain in how far they were the property of the conquerors, and whether they could be bought and sold. In my opinion, slavery as a regulated institution could hardly have existed to any great extent; for, as intimated above, the Koryak had little faith in their captives, and generally put them to death, fearing their vengeance.

In this connection, a myth in which it is related that parents gave to their married daughter one woman for cooking and one for sewing,[3] is of interest. These women, of course, could not have been hired servants in the modern sense, but must have been slaves with whom the masters could do as they pleased.

PRESENT FORMS OF SOCIAL LIFE. — I have already referred to the deteriorating influence which contact with the Russians has had on the development of the social relations of the Koryak. Relative security, with the cessation of wars and the waning of superstitions, weakened or eliminated the anti-social tendency towards the isolation of individual families. Such customs as the guarding of the family hearth against contact with objects belonging to other families, are now, under Russian influence, either but partly observed or they have been completely abandoned.

In the settlement Itkana, for instance, the only time when the family fire cannot be taken to another house is while fishing is going on, as this might turn the luck of the fishermen; but it may be carried in other seasons of the year. Kettles and teapots, on the other hand, are carried to other houses and back again at any season.

[1] See Part I, p. 269. [2] Ibid., p. 268. [3] Ibid., p. 209, No. 52.

11: Kennan--175-176 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak-1-2
116, 165, 342, 354, 511 Reindeer

"The temperature of a Korak tent in winter seldom ranges above 20° or 25° Fahr., and as constant exposure to such a degree of cold would be at least very disagreeable, the Koraks construct around the inner circumference of the tent small, nearly air-tight apartments called 'pologs,' which are separated one from another by skin curtains, and combine the advantages of exclusiveness with the desirable luxury of greater warmth. These 'pologs' are about four feet in height, and six or eight feet in width and length. They are made of the heaviest furs sewn carefully together to exclude the air, and are warmed and lighted by a burning fragment of moss floating in a wooden bowl of seal oil. The law of compensation, however, which pervades all Nature, makes itself felt even in the pologs of a Korak yourt, and for the greater degree of warmth is exacted the penalty of a closer, smokier atmosphere. The flaming wick of the lamp, which floats like a [176] tiny burning ship in a miniature lake of rancid grease, absorbs the vital air of the polog, and returns it in the shape of carbonic acid gas, oily smoke, and sickening odors. In defiance, however, of all the known laws of hygiene, this vitiated atmosphere seems to be healthy; or, to state the case negatively, there is no evidence to prove its unhealthiness. The Korak women, who spend almost the whole of their time in these pologs, live generally to an advanced age, and except a noticeable tendency to angular outlines and skinniness, there is nothing to distinguish them physically from the old women of other countries. It was not without what I supposed to be a well-founded apprehension of

suffocation, that I slept for the first time in a Korak yourt; but my uneasiness proved to be entirely groundless, and gradually wore away."

11: Kennan--262 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 342, 352, 511, 857 Maritime

"It is a mystery to me how human beings with any feeling at all can be satisfied to live in such abominable, detestable houses as those of the settled Koraks. They have not one solitary redeeming feature. They are entered through the chimney, lighted by the chimney, and ventilated by the chimney; the sunshine falls into them only once a year--in June; they are cold in winter, close and uncomfortable in summer, and smoky all the time. They are pervaded by a smell of randic oil and decaying fish; their logs are black as jet and greasy with smoke, and their earthen floors are an indescribable mixture of reindeer's hairs and filth dried and trodden hard. They have no furniture except wooden bowls of seal oil, in which burn fragments of moss, and black wooden troughs which are alternately used as dishes and as seats. Sad is the lot of children born in such a place. Until they are old enough to climb up the chimney-pole they never see the outside world."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--286 [3] N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak

116, 354, 511

"In the Karaga yurt the people sat or lay upon or near the edge of the raised portion of the inner compartment, exactly as portrayed in the plate in 'Cook's Third Voyage.' On our entering, however, a rough table was placed before us, with a bowl of the yellow 'morushka' berries and a spoon. In another corner of the yurt a fire was burning, and the smoke, which penetrated to every part of the edifice before escaping through a hole in the roof, soon drove us into the open air again."

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

greateſt ceremony, and bear every affront. It was never heard that the ſettled *Koreki* did the leaſt injury to any of the wanderers; and this is ſo firmly believed, that our tax-gatherers think themſelves entirely ſafe, when they converſe with thoſe who live in huts, if they are guarded by one of the rein-deer *Koreki*: which may appear very ſtrange, conſidering that the ſettled *Koreki* are much their ſuperiors in ſtrength; and it can only be attributed to that general reſpect which poor people pay to the rich: for the poverty of the ſettled *Koreki* is ſo great, that they depend upon the others in a great meaſure for their cloathing. The rein-deer *Koreki* call the others their ſlaves, and treat them accordingly; but they behave very differently to the *Tchukotſkoi*, who are ſo terrible to them, that fifty of the rein-deer *Koreki* dare not ſtand againſt twenty of theſe; and if it was not for the protection of the Coſſacks of *Anadir*, the *Tchukotſkoi* would have rooted them out by this time. As every nation has ſomething commendable, ſo the *Koreki* are more honeſt and induſtrious than the *Kamtſchadales*, and ſeem to have a greater ſenſe of ſhame.

It is difficult to form an exact account of the numbers and different families of the *Koreki*, but it is thought that all together they are more numerous than the *Kamtſchadales*. They live in ſuch places as abound with moſs for their rein-deer, without regarding the ſcarcity of wood or water: in the winter time they can uſe ſnow for water, and for firing moſs or graſs, of which they have plenty every where. Their manner of living, eſpecially in the winter time, is ſtill more diſagreeable than that of the *Kamtſchadales*: for being frequently obliged to change their habitations, the huts which they come into are all frozen; and when they begin to thaw them by the fires, which are uſually made of green ſhrubs or graſs, there ariſes a ſmoke, ſo pernicious to the eyes, that it is enough to blind a perſon entirely in one day.

1. [i.e., the Reindeer Koryak -- Analyst]